



THE ULYSSES MOTIF IN JAPANESE LITERATURE*

By ESTHER LOWELL HIBBARD

About the middle of the seventeenth century there appeared in Japanese literature a tale based on the adventures of a hero called the Minister Yuriwaka—a tale which has been retold more than a score of times since then in various forms by many writers down to the present day. In its earliest written form the tradition recounts how a childless nobleman who has prayed to the Goddess of Mercy is granted a son, whom he names Yuriwaka (*Lily Youth*). When Yuriwaka reaches a suitable age he is appointed Minister of State by the Emperor and is married to the daughter of a courtier. Soon afterward, following an attack upon Japan by a large army of barbarian invaders, the Emperor chooses the hero as commander-in-chief of a punitive expedition. By means of supernatural aid the hero subjugates the enemy and is on his way home in triumph when his two chief retainers abandon him on a desolate island and plot to take over his fief in Kyūshū.

When they reach the capital of Kyūshū the retainers spread a false report that their lord is dead, and at once begin to press for the hand of Lady Yuriwaka in marriage. She puts them off with the excuse that she must first fulfil a religious vow. In preparation for her retirement to a temple in order to carry out her intention she releases Yuriwaka's hunting horses and hawks. Although free, the hero's favorite hawk refuses to fly away until given a rice-ball, which it picks up and carries to the island where Yuriwaka has been abandoned. Recognizing the bird, the hero writes a message on a fallen leaf with his own blood, attaches it to the bird's leg, and dispatches the bird to the capital, where his wife reads the message and rejoices to know that he is still alive.

Some time later a fishing vessel drifts to the island, and although the fishermen fail to recognize the hero because of his emaciated condition, they agree to take him back with them. On reaching the capital they present him as a curiosity to the disloyal retainers, who entrust him to the care of an old gatekeeper. One night Yuriwaka overhears the old gatekeeper telling his wife that their daughter had been drowned in place of the Lady Yuriwaka, who had been condemned to death because of her steadfast refusal to marry the traitors. The hero is strongly tempted to disclose his identity at once, but decides to await a more favorable opportunity for wreaking vengeance upon his enemies. The desired opportunity occurs at the following New Year, when an archery contest is held in honor of the ruling traitors, and the hero is permitted to take part. Using an iron bow which he alone can bend he kills the traitors, first having made himself known to them as their lord. He then rewards his faithful followers and receives belated honors from the Emperor for his military services.

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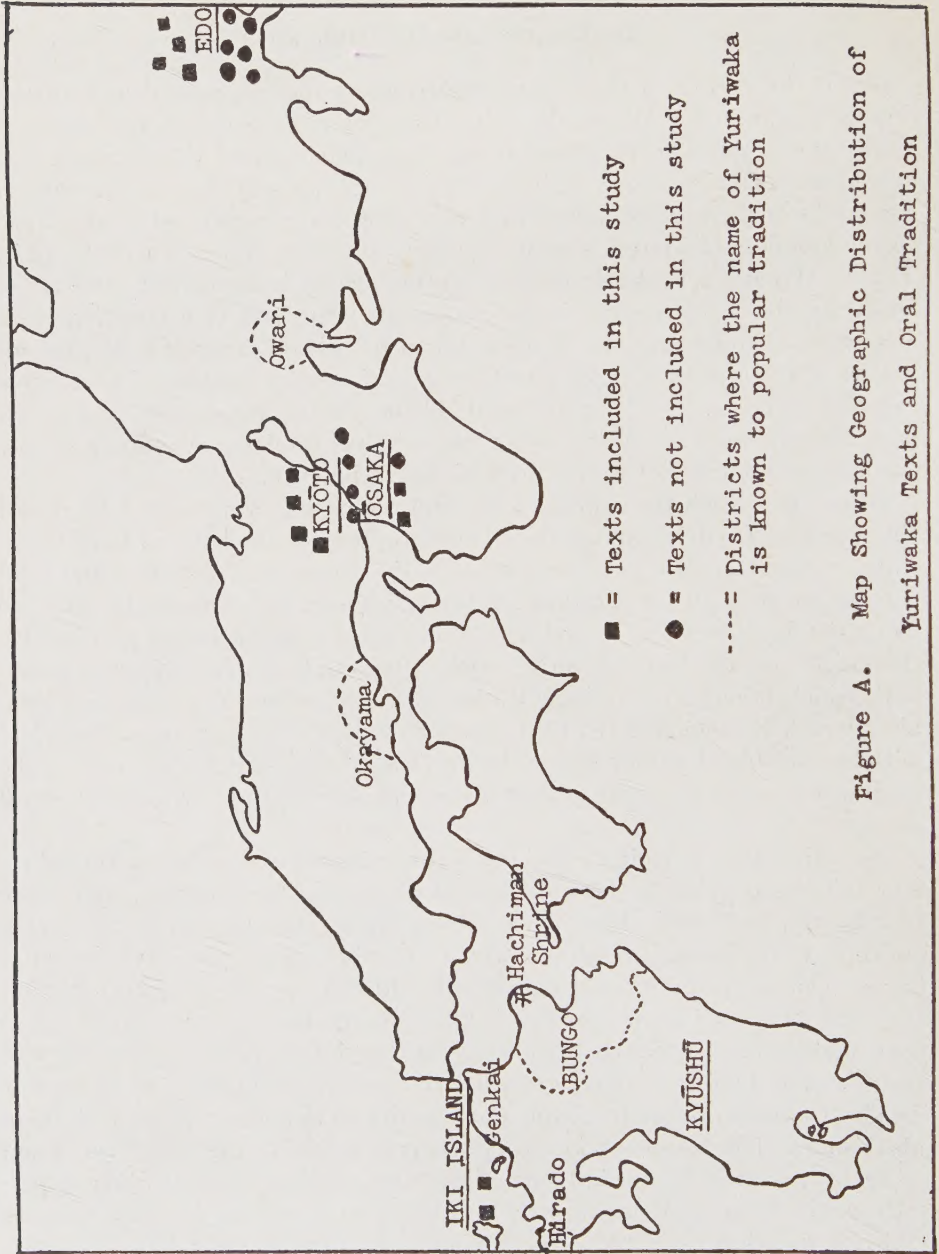


Figure A. Map Showing Geographic Distribution of Yuriwaka Texts and Oral Tradition

The resemblance of the main incidents in this narrative to the story of the Greek hero Ulysses immediately becomes apparent. Yuriwaka's leadership in a punitive expedition against a foreign foe; his faithful consort's resistance to the courtship of the traitors during his absence; the archery contest, with its subsequent revelation of the hero's identity and the punishment of the traitors, are striking parallels to the Greek classic. The question inevitably arises as to whether this similarity is purely fortuitous, or whether the Greek tale may have been taken to Japan and adopted in Japanese tradition. Before dealing with these ultimate problems, however, it is first necessary to consider what part the Yuriwaka tradition has played in Japanese culture. To what extent and in what period was it most widely known in Japan? Where was it current? What sort of writers dealt with it and in what forms?

Our attempt to answer these questions is based upon twelve written versions of the tradition, which are listed in Table A and which range in date from 1662 to 1935, and also some notes made by Yamaguchi Asataro¹ on the oral tradition as it exists today on the island of Iki off the northern coast of Kyūshū. The texts listed in Table A represent about half the number known to have once been in existence (see Table B). They are arranged in chronological order and each carries an index letter for purposes of reference throughout this study. Those texts which were written in cursive script were first modernized by native scribes and then translated literally into English by the present author. Earlier versions presented a special problem in that they were written almost entirely in phonetic signs which varied in meaning according to the ideographs assigned to them.² Since there was often a wide range of choice, the sense could not be determined by context alone. Whenever possible, the correct reading was inferred from a parallel passage in a text of a later date which was written in ideographs; otherwise, one or more alternate readings were considered.

The distribution of the Yuriwaka tale, in both its oral and written forms, is shown on the map (Figure A). Written forms of the tale were most numerous in Japan during the last half of the seventeenth century, when a total of ten different versions appeared. During the next two hundred years the number of versions dropped from five to zero, but rose again to two in the twentieth century (see Figure B, page 227). Evidently, therefore, whatever stimulus first generated the story must have been at its height in the early seventeenth century. The complete disappearance of the tradition from the literary scene in the last half of the nineteenth century may perhaps be explained by the influx of scientific ideas from the Occident which characterized the early nineteenth century in Japan. Curiously enough, however, the theme was revived in 1935 under no less an aegis than the National Department of Education, which published a simplified version of the tradition in the fourth book of the National Readers used in Japanese primary schools. Since this action coincided with a wave of strong nationalism, it is an index of the

¹ Asatarō Yamaguchi, *Yuriwaka sekkyō* (Tōkyō, Isseisha, 1934) 173-81.

² E.g., the phrase *Bungo no kō* may be rendered *the provincial capital, season, exploit, effect, port, society, armor of Bungo* according to the ideographs used.

TABLE A
TEXTS INCLUDED IN THIS STUDY³

Key Letter	Title	Publisher or Author	Date	Source	Form	Copyist or Editor
A	Yuriwaka daijin	Higurashi Kodayū	1662	Sekkyōbushi seihonshū	Print	Yokoyama Shigeru, ed.
B	Yuriwaka daijin	Urokogataya Magobei	1673-1684	Tōkyō Imperial University Library	Modernized script	Ogawa Jūichi
B ⁴	Yuriwaka daijin	Kimpira	1652-1688	Private library of Dr. J. K. Yamagiwa, U. of Michigan	Photostat	Present writer
C	Yuriwaka daijin	Unknown	1684-1688	Shin gunsho ruiju (U. of Michigan Library)	Print	Kōda Rohan, ed.
D	Yuriwaka Kōrai-zeme	Yamamoto Kyūbei	1680-1700	Private library of Prof. Shigeru Yokoyama, Tōkyō Imperial University	Modernized script	Inai Tokiko
E	Yuriwaka nomori kagami	Chikamatsu Monzaemon	1710	Chikamatsu meisakusen [Selections from Chikamatsu]	Print	Sekine Masanao, editor
F	Yuriwaka Kōrai gunki	Tamenaga Tarōbei	1742	Kyōto Imperial University Library	Modernized script	Ogawa Jūichi
G	Yuriwaka Nishikijima	Hachimonjiya Kōshi	1752	Waseda Library of Drama	Modernized script	Inai Tokiko
H	Yuriwaka sekkyō	Unknown	1795	Owned by present writer	Print	Yamaguchi Asatarō
I	Yurikusawaka daijin ki	Unknown	18th century?	Owned by present writer	Print	Yamaguchi Asatarō
I'	Yurikusawaka	Unknown	Unknown	Oral tradition current among women soothsayers on Iki today	Print	Yamaguchi Asatarō
J	Yuriwaka daijin tō no nemuri	Kusunoki Hikotarō	1798	Ueno Public Library, Tōkyō	Modernized script	Inai Tokiko
K	Yuriwaka daijin	Department of Education	1935	Owned by present writer	Print	Department of Education, ed.

³ These and the texts in Table B are listed in the following Japanese reference books: Kinko shōsetsu kaidai [Bibliography of new and old novels]; Gaidai nenkan [Annual record of Edo drama]; Kabuki nendai ki [Annual register of kabuki plays]; Nippon bungaku daijiten [Encyclopedia of Japanese literature].

⁴ This text is a later woodblock print edition of Text B. It is characterized by a more frequent use of ideographs and a different style of script.

TABLE B
TEXTS NOT INCLUDED IN THE STUDY⁵

Key Letter	Title	Author	Date	Reason for Omission
L	Yuriwaka daijin	Inoue Harima En	1667	No traces found
M	Yuriwakamaro	Inoue Harima no Jo	1667	No traces found
N	Yuriwaka isshōki	Unknown	1690	Same as Text D, Table A
O	Yuriwaka gumpō yoroi-zakura	Shima Sanjin	1819	Not sent from Japan ⁶
P	Nishikijima kae tsuribune	Shima Sanjin	1818	No traces found
Q	Yuriwaka monogatari	Unknown	Unknown	No traces found
R	Yuriwaka Kōrai gunki, Part III	Tamenaga Tarōbei	1742	Not sent from Japan
S	Yuriwaka daijin	Ichikawa Danjurō Nakamura Seisaburō	1697	No traces found
T	Yuriwaka Morokoshibune	Unknown	1700	No traces found
U	Imayo Yuriwaka	Unknown	1700	No traces found
V	Yuriwaka noi no taka	Sōma Mantei	1808	No traces found
W	Hitohari yunzei Sankan taiji	Unknown	1677	No traces found
X	Yuriwakamaro yunzei no meiyō	Kazan Ryokutei	1814	No traces found
Y	Yuriwaka otogizōshi	Unknown	Unknown	Essentially the same as Text C
Z	Yuriwaka daijin	Kōdansha (publisher)	1941	Out of print

⁵ Efforts were made to trace the texts listed in this table by making inquiries at the following libraries: Congressional Library, Washington, D. C.; Bunrakuza Theater Library, Ōsaka; Dōshisha University Library, Kyōto; Hibiya Public Library, Tōkyō; Kanazawa Historical Library, Kanazawa Prefecture; Kyōto Imperial University Library, Kyōto; Kyōto Public Library, Kyōto; Nagoya Public Library, Nagoya; Ōhashi Library, Tōkyō Imperial University Library, Tōkyō; Tōyō Bunko Library, Tōkyō; Ueno Public Library, Tōkyō; Waseda Museum of Drama Library, Tōkyō.

A search of the second-hand book stores yielded no results except an old copy of the printed version of *Yuriwaka sekkyō* edited by Yamaguchi. There are several explanations for the disappearance of the texts which once existed. At the time of the great earthquake disaster in 1923 the Tōkyō Imperial University Library lost a great many documents by fire. Some of the *Yuriwaka* texts may have been among them. Other texts may be in the hands of private collectors whose libraries are not open to the public. Finally, since the libretti of plays were considered the private property of the actors who performed them, they were not always published even if the titles were listed in the annual catalogue.

⁶ Although arrangements had been made with a native scribe to make copies of this text and Part III of Text F, communication with Japan was broken by the war before they reached this country.

place held by the tale in Japanese culture. In 1941 the story again appeared, this time as an illustrated children's picture-book in the Kōdansha series; it proved so popular that the edition was sold out within a year.

The place of origin, the authorship and the date for each of the text versions of the Yuriwaka tale are shown in Table C. It will be observed that of the twenty-six written texts two come from the island of Iki, eight from

TABLE C
GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF TEXTS

Place of Origin	Key	Author or Publisher	Date
Iki Island	H	Unknown	1795
Iki Island	I	Unknown	18th century?
Iki Island	I'	Unknown	17th century?
Kyōto	A	Higurashi Kodayū	1662
Kyōto	C	Unknown	1684-1688
Kyōto	D	Yamamoto Kyūbei	1680-1700
Kyōto	G	Hachimonjiya Kōshi	1752
Kyōto	L	Inoue Harima En	1667
Kyōto	M	Inoue Harima no Jo	1663
Kyōto	P	Shima Sanjin	1818
Kyōto	T	Unknown	1700
Ōsaka	E	Chikamatsu Monzaemon	1710
Ōsaka	F, R	Tamenaga Tarōbei	1742
Ōsaka	U	Unknown	1700
Edo (Tōkyō)	B	Urokogataya Magobei	1673-1684
Edo	B'	Kimpira	1652-1688
Edo	J	Kusunoki Hikotarō	1798
Edo	Ō	Shima Sanjin	1819
Edo	S	Ichikawa Danjurō	1697
		Nakamura Seisaburō	
Edo	V	Sōma Mantei	1808
Edo	W	Unknown	1677
Edo	X	Kazan Ryokutei	1814
Tōkyō	K	Department of Education	1935
Tōkyō	Z	Kōdansha	1941
Unknown	N	Unknown	1690
Unknown	Q	Unknown	Unknown
Unknown	Y	Unknown	Unknown

Kyōto, three from Ōsaka, ten from Tōkyō, and three from an unknown source. Furthermore, the dates of publication show that Kyōto was the oldest center, with five versions published during the seventeenth century; Ōsaka next, with three eighteenth-century texts; and Tōkyō, last, with a total of five versions published during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It is significant that there is a close correlation between the occurrence of the texts and the historical development of the above-mentioned cities as centers of culture. Kyōto was the national capital until the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the seat of government was moved to Edo by the Tokugawa shogunate.⁷ During the early days of the new regime, Ōsaka enjoyed a brief period of great prosperity as the commercial center of Japan. But from the middle of the eighteenth century until the present, Edo, or Tōkyō, as it is now known, has been the center of culture.

⁷ Herbert H. Gowen, *An Outline History of Japan* (New York, Appleton and Company, 1927) 230. "Then [1603] Ieyasu made Yedo the capital of his administrative machine. He spent vast sums on making it a capital equal in importance to Kyōto and Kamakura. . . . The work in Yedo had, indeed, been begun as early as 1590, but the transformation of a 'sea-beaten beach with only fishermen's huts thereon' into an imposing metropolis now began in earnest."

Finally, let us consider the kind of authors who had a hand in the composition of the various versions of the tradition. The oldest form in which the tradition appears is that of the *sekkyō*, or narrative chanted with musical accompaniment by professional ballad singers and soothsayers. In some districts these chants were part of a religious ceremony, as in the case of the Iki version.

Many of the early writers are either anonymous or identified merely by the name of the founder of a school of composition, such as Kōwakamaru, a priest living in the vicinity of Kyōto, whose descendants perpetuated for four centuries the style which he originated. With the rise of the puppet drama in the seventeenth century, the Yuriwaka tradition passed from the realm of

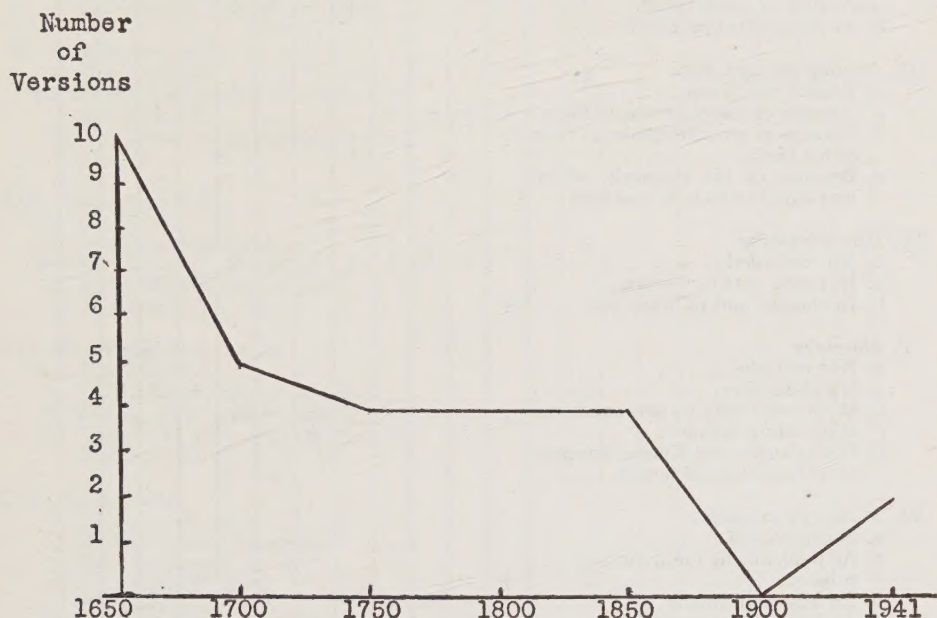


FIGURE B. Prevalence of Written Versions of the Tradition.

pure folklore into that of literary composition. In the hands of Japan's greatest dramatist, Chikamatsu Monzaemon, it became a florid melodrama full of literary allusions and exaggerated incident, which has won a permanent place in Japanese literature as a classic.

The climax in the literary development of the Yuriwaka theme came when it was used by the publishing house of Hachimonjiya for one of its popular romances, which, being intended for leisure reading, were lengthy and frequently illustrated by famous artists of the day. The content is utterly worldly, reflecting the morals and manners of a corrupt age in realistic detail.

Having passed the zenith of its career, the tradition now rapidly decayed until it vanished completely from sight, not to reappear except in an expurgated and simplified form as a lesson in a school reader. Thus we see how it ran the gamut from its original form of a semi-religious narrative chant to a nursery tale designed to inculcate moral qualities in children.

TABLE D

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF NARRATIVE MOTIFS IN THIRTEEN VERSIONS OF THE YURIWAKA TRADITION

Narrative Motifs	Texts												
	A	B	B'	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	I'	J	K
I. <i>Treasure contest</i>													
x. Not recorded.....	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	+
a. Between childless millionaire and poor man with twelve sons.....									+	+	+		
II. <i>Birth of hero</i>													
x. Not recorded.....													+
a. In answer to prayer.....	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
b. As heir of noble family.....						+	+	+				+	
c. As descendant of a god.....												+	
III. <i>Naming the hero Yuri</i>													
x. Reason not given.....							+	+			+	+	+
a. Because of association with lilies .	+	+	+	+					+	+			
b. Because of an earthquake at time of his birth.....					+								
c. Because of his strength, which was equal to that of 100 men...						+							
IV. <i>Hero's training</i>													
x. Not recorded.....		+	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	+
a. In magic arts by Tengu.....									+	+	+		
b. In classics and military arts.....	+												
V. <i>Marriage</i>													
x. Not recorded.....													+
a. By abduction.....									+	?	+		
b. With court lady by arrangement .	+	+	+	+	+	+		+				+	
c. With white falcon.....						+							
d. With daughter of Korean adopted by a Japanese nobleman.....							+						
VI. <i>Military assignment</i>													
x. Not recorded.....											+		
a. As punishment for abducting.... princes.....	+								+				
b. On advice of oracle.....	+	+	+	+									
c. At Emperor's command.....					+	+				+		+	+
d. Through intrigue of stepmother .							+	+					
VII. <i>Aid to hero</i>													
x. Not recorded.....					+							+	+
a. Of magic arts.....									+	+	+		
b. Of gods and buddhas.....	+	+	+	+					+	?			
c. Of herculean retainer.....						+	+	+					
d. Withdrawn because of hero's boast.....									+	?			
VIII. <i>Island exile</i>													
a. Because of retainers' disloyalty..	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+		+	+
b. Because of an evil spell.....											+		
c. Of a substitute for the hero.....							+	+					
IX. <i>Messengers</i>													
x. Not recorded.....													+
a. Hero's pet hawk.....	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	?	+	+	
b. Parrot.....					+								
c. Orang-utang.....						+							
d. Arrow.....						+					+		

TABLE D—Continued

Narrative Motifs	Texts												
	A	B	B'	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	I'	J	K
X. <i>Wifely fidelity</i>													
x. Not recorded.....											+		+
a. Vow to recite one thousand sutras before re-marriage.....		+	+	+									
b. Vow to wait six years and six months.....										+			
c. Choice of death rather than re-marriage.....	+							+		+		+	
d. Feigned yielding followed by murder of suitor.....					+		+						
e. Following hero to place of exile..						+	+						
VI. <i>Voluntary sacrifice</i>													
x. Not recorded.....					+				+	+	+	+	+
a. Of a subordinate for his master or mistress.....	+	+	+	+		+		+					
b. Of a father for his daughter's husband.....							+						
XII. <i>Rescue from exile</i>													
a. By chance.....									+	?	+		+
b. By divine intervention.....	+	+	+	+	+								
c. By the hawk's guidance.....							+					+	
d. By the hero's Herculean helper..						+							
e. Death in exile.....								+					
XIII. <i>Hero's skill as an archer</i>													
x. Not recorded.....							?	+					
a. Used as instrument of vengeance..					+				+	+	?	+	
b. Displayed in archery match.....	?	+	+	+									+
c. Compared with that of famous Kyōto archer.....						+							
XIV. <i>Identification</i>													
a. By unusual tooth.....									+	+	+		
b. By war-horse's recognition.....									+				
c. By a birthmark.....					+								
d. By a magical arrow.....						+							
e. By renowned swords.....							+	+					
f. By self-introduction.....	+	+	+	+	+	+			+			+	+
XV. <i>Punishment of traitors</i>													
x. Not recorded.....											+		
a. Adjusted in severity to degree of crime.....		+	+	+					+				
b. By piercing with an arrow.....			+	+					+	+		+	+
c. By torture and exposure of bodies		+	+	+					+	+			
d. By decapitation.....	+			+	+	+			+				
e. By exile.....			+	+	+								
f. By crucifixion upside down.....							+						
g. Remission because of relationship to hero.....								+					
XVI. <i>Rewards to faithful</i>													
x. Not recorded.....					+		?						+
a. Property and rank.....	+	+	+	+		+			+	+	+	+	
b. Deification or enshrinement.....	+			+		+			+				
c. Marriage with court lady.....								+					

*? indicates that though this portion of the MS is missing, the parallelism of the narrative with contemporary texts suggest that this motif might originally have been present.

RECONSTRUCTION AND COMPARISON

An analysis of the thirteen different versions of the Yuriwaka texts shows that the tale is composed of sixteen basic episodes or narrative motifs, namely: a treasure contest; the hero's birth; his naming; his education; his marriage; his appointment as commander-in-chief of a military expedition; his triumph through divine aid; his abandonment on an island by treacherous followers; his communication with his home by means of special messengers; his consort's fidelity during his absence; the voluntary sacrifice of a lady-in-waiting in place of her mistress; the hero's rescue from exile and return to his home incognito; and an archery contest, followed by identification of the hero, his punishment of the traitors, and rewarding of his faithful followers.

The frequency with which these basic ideas recur in the different texts is shown in Table D, in which the chief motifs have been indicated by roman numerals, while the variant details related to them are marked by letters. Study of the table reveals that certain texts are so closely related that they can be grouped together and considered as one. For example, Texts A, B, B', and C have the following elements in common:

I_x II_a III_a IV_x V_b VI_b VII_b VIII_b IX_a
X_a XI_a XII_b XIII_b XIV_f XV_b XVI_a

and can therefore be treated as a unit and designated as Group A.

Another group (B) is made up of Texts H, I, and I'. The elements common to this are:

I_a II_b III_a IV_a V_a VI_a VII_a VIII_a IX_a
X_c XI_x XII_a XIII_a XIV_a XV_{b,c} XVI_a

It is significant that with the exception of motifs III_a, XV_b, and XVI_a, these texts do not coincide in any respect with those in Group A. The conclusion that these compose a second distinct unit is strengthened by the fact that they all come from the island of Iki (see Table C).

The next grouping (C) is made up of Texts E, F, and G, of which the characteristic details are:

I_x II_b III_x IV_x V_{b,c,d} VI_{a,d} VII_c VIII_c
IX_{a,c,d} X_e XI_{a,b} XII_d XIII_x XIV_{e,d} XV_{f,g}
XVI_a

In some respects these minor details correspond with those of Group A, in others with those of Group B, but since these texts are more closely related to each other than to either of the other groups, they may be considered as a separate unit.

There remain three versions, namely, Texts D, J, and K, which cannot be readily grouped with each other because they contain the following unique elements:

Text D: III_b IX_b X_d XIV_e

Text J: II_c

Text K: II_x V_x IX_x

However, since all the remaining narrative motifs in these texts occur in one or more of the other groups, we need be concerned only with those details which are peculiar to these versions.

Ten of the thirteen different versions on which this study is based have now been combined according to their common narrative details into three groups designated Groups A, B, and C; the remaining three texts, being of a miscellaneous character, can be identified by their separate index letters. Our next step in attempting to reconstruct a theoretical prototype of the tale for purposes of comparison with Western versions of *Ulysses* is to find some explanation for the variations which occur in each group, and to decide which details must be retained as an essential part of the theoretical prototype and which may be discarded as superfluous.

In Group A the first episode, that of a treasure contest, is lacking, and the story begins with the birth of the hero. The Goddess of Mercy appears to the hero's father in a vision, holding a budded lily in her hand, and prophecies the birth of a son in answer to his prayers. It is noteworthy that whereas the lotus flower is nearly always associated with the Goddess of Mercy in Buddhist iconography, in this case the flower she holds is a lily. This anomalous incident suggests that an effort was made by the composer of the text to account in this way for the unusual character of the hero's name, which means *Lily Youth*. To be sure, botanical names are occasionally given to the heroes of Japanese folktales, as in the case of the three friends Matsuomaru, Sakurao-maru, and Umeomaru, representing the pine, cherry, and plum, respectively; and the suffix *waka* (*youth*) is common enough, as for example *Ushiwaka* (*Oxling*), the nickname of the famous hero Yoshitsune, but no other instance of the use of *yuri* as a man's name has ever come to my notice. The detail of the lily in the hand of the Goddess is probably, therefore, an attempt to rationalize a strange name and make it seem plausible, rather than part of the original narrative.

After accounting for the hero's name the texts in Group A proceed with the events of the hero's career. His appointment as commander-in-chief of a military expedition against the barbarians is a logical result of the Emperor's consulting the divine oracle of Ise, since the hero himself is of supernatural origin. The aura of supernaturalism continues to surround him as the gods and buddhas come to his aid in the military campaign. No reason is given, however, for the withdrawal of this protection, which makes him the victim of his follower's treacherous plot to abandon him on an island.⁸

At this point the motif of the bird-messenger is introduced—a common enough device in the folklore of many nations.⁹ But designation of a hawk as the specific kind of bird is unique. Although no other example of the hawk-as-messenger theme has been found in Japanese literature, there is ample evidence to show that the lore of falconry had been an integral part of Japanese

⁸ Cf. Stith Thompson, *Motif-index of Folk-literature* (Folklore Fellows Communications No. 116 (1939) 233; "S 145. Abandonment on an island (Breton, Greek, French Canadian, Indian)." Hereinafter cited as Thompson, *Motif-index*.

⁹ Ibid. No. 106, 326. "B 291.1. Bird as messenger (English, Celtic, Welsh, French)."

culture ever since its introduction from Korea during the reign of the Emperor Nintoku (313-399). In fact, it became so popular during the ninth century that it assumed the proportions of a cult, with a literature all its own.¹⁰ As falconry was the special prerogative of noblemen, to associate it with the character of Yuriwaka was only natural, and there is no reason to consider the messenger motif vital to the story.

The next two episodes deal with womanly fidelity as exemplified by the steadfast refusal of the hero's consort to marry again even when she believes him to be dead, and by a lady-in-waiting's voluntary sacrifice of her own life for that of her mistress. The latter theme, known as *migawari* (*substitution of persons*), is so common in both the history and literature of Japan that it has become a fixed convention. In particular, the tale of the Princess Manju, which deals with the substitution of the life of a faithful retainer's only child for that of his feudal lord, may have had a direct influence upon the A group of texts, since it dates from the twelfth year of the Kanei era (1636),^{10a} just a quarter century before the appearance of the first version of the Yuriwaka tradition. Moreover, as this theme occurs in only half of the texts, it may be considered an addition rather than an integral part of the original narrative. The idea of conjugal fidelity, on the other hand, persists throughout all the versions save two, and may therefore be considered as essential.

The motif of the hero's skill in archery is recorded in all but two of the thirteen versions, though it assumes varying degrees of importance according to whether or not it becomes the instrument of the hero's vengeance. The variant which makes the hero display his skill in an archery exhibition before fulfilling his vengeful purpose is entirely compatible with native customs, especially at the New Year season, when archery took on a ceremonial significance.¹¹ The occurrence of archery contests as a means of settling the rival

¹⁰ Tsukuru Fujimura, *Nippon bungaku daijiten* (Tōkyō, Shinchōsha, 1936-37) 4: 314, gives the following titles of books on hawking:

- a. *Yōkyō bengiron* [Discussion of the rules of falconry]
- b. *Kiseichōshin takagari ki* [Kiseichō's account of hunting with hawks].
- c. *Taka kōden* [Oral traditions about falconry].
- d. *Mōgyū hiyo ōrai* [A correspondence about hawks].
- e. *Taka hyakushū* [100 verses about hawks]. A collection of poems about hawks by Jien, a priestly poet who lived until the first year of Kanen (1225).
- f. *Taka shiunka* [Technical terms about hawking put into verse].
- g. *Taka tsukuba shū* [Collection of humorous poems dating from Kanei 19 (1643)].

This list by no means exhausts the bibliography of writings on falconry, but it is sufficient to show how common they were. It should be noted that the last of these publications was contemporaneous with the texts in Group A.

^{10a} Fujimura, *ibid.* 4: 235.

¹¹ Daniel C. Buchanan, *Inari, its Origin, Development and Nature* (Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 2nd series, 12: 109, 1935). Hereinafter cited as TASJ. "The *Busha* or *Hōsha-sai* Shooting Festival as observed on January 12 is also known as *Oyumi-hajime* [Honorable First Bow]. On the west side of the road leading from Inari Yama to Kyōto a large target is placed on a hill in the shooting grounds. The target is adorned with unpainted sacred bows and arrows placed on its right and left. Then two priests, shrine marksmen, one after the other shoot at the target in ceremonial fashion 'for the reformation of society.' These bows and arrows are greatly prized for their properties in keeping away robbers."

claims of suitors is not unknown,¹² but would not be likely in this setting, since according to the Japanese family system there could not be any rivalry between an older and a younger brother such as the Beppu. We may conclude therefore, that though the way in which it is displayed or utilized may vary, the idea of the hero's skill with bow and arrow is an essential feature of the tale.

In nine of the versions the hero makes himself known before punishing the traitors. This custom of self-introduction before engaging an enemy in combat, known as *nanori*, has been common in Japanese history since the beginning of feudal times. For instance, the leader of the forty-seven loyal retainers proclaimed his identity to his enemies before slaying the villain Kira.¹³ It was, therefore, the expected thing that Yuriwaka should thus make himself known when the time for revenge was ripe. His vengeance takes a characteristic Japanese form—that of torture, followed by decapitation of the elder brother's head and exposure of his dead body, and banishment of the younger brother, because of his lesser crime. Compensation for faithful service takes the form of giving property and rank to the living and erecting shrines to the spirits of the dead—the latter also a typical Japanese custom, as witness the enshrinement of the spirits of soldiers who have fallen in battle in modern times. In view of the lack of uniformity in the texts as far as details are concerned, we can accept as essential only the general theme of punishment of the traitors.

Turning now to the Group B versions we find them unique inasmuch as they all have a prologue dealing with a treasure contest in which the loser's defeat is caused by childlessness. This motif, known as *Takara-kurabe* (*Treasure-comparing*) was a favorite narrative device among strolling entertainers of the middle ages in Japan. It was originally part of a much longer story which has been lost. Its typical pattern is that of two men, one rich, but childless, the other poor but blessed with twelve sons, who compete for honor by displaying their treasures before the public. When the latter wins by virtue of receiving greater applause for the performances of his sons, the

¹² Thompson, Motif-index, No. 108, 305: "H 331.4. Suitor contest: shooting (American Indian, Greek)."

Masaharu Anesaki and John C. Ferguson, *Japanese Mythology in Mythology of all races* (Boston, Marshall Jones Co., 1928) 8: 295:—"There lived in the province of Settsu a girl famous for her beauty, who was known as the maiden of Unai. Many lovers wooed her, but she cared for none of them. When all the others had given up hope, two young men . . . remained as . . . suitors. . . . The parents . . . determined that an archery contest should decide the question. The suitors came on the appointed day equipped with bow and arrows . . . the suitors were to shoot at a bird that had alighted on the surface of a river that flowed by the maiden's house. They shot and each arrow hit the bird, one at the head and the other at the tail. So the matter was still undecided. The girl . . . grew despondent and threw herself into the river. The two lovers followed the example of their beloved. So the three were joined in death . . . and buried together on the river bank. . . ."

¹³ Frederick H. Dickens, *Chūshingura, or The Loyal League* (London, Allen and Co., 1880) 139. "I who address you am Oboshi Yuranosuke, and my companion here is Hara Goyemon. We are liegemen of Enya Hangwan. Some forty of us banded together to revenge our lord's death upon his enemy and are now struggling to get at him."

former for the first time realizes the bitterness of lack of posterity.¹⁴ As the audiences for such tales were for the most part composed of poor men, they enjoyed hearing descriptions of a lavish display of wealth. Later the Buddhist priesthood used this theme to teach its doctrine of asceticism and contempt for the world.

Since this element occurs only in the texts of Group B, it is probably a local addition to the basic story. The fact that the island where these texts originated is detached from the mainland may account for the preservation of the treasure contest motif there in spite of the fact that it is no longer current elsewhere. Be that as it may, we would seem to be justified in concluding that because of its isolated occurrence the treasure contest motif is not an essential element in the story.

In one of the versions of Group B, the name of the hero undergoes a significant change. It is read Yurikusa waka, which translates *Lily Grass Youth*, a still more inappropriate title than Yuriwaka, so far as meaning is concerned. But phonetically it is of profound significance, in that it closely resembles Ulyxēs, the Roman form of the Greek name Odysseus which was current in medieval Europe. As the Japanese language has no *l* sound, the closest approximation is *ri*; while the lack of the consonant *x* makes it necessary to substitute the syllables *kusa*. Since no Japanese word can end in any consonant except *n*, the final *s* of the Roman name would have to be changed to a syllable ending in a vowel. Probably the name originally had some such form as Urikusasu, but was soon truncated to Urikusa, and then by folk etymology the word *yuri* or *lily* was substituted for the less appropriate *uri*, which means *melon*. As the final step in the naturalization of the name, Chinese ideographs were assigned to represent the sounds, and *Lily grass* resulted. This process of phonetic modification, truncation, and association with the meaning of ideographs originally used only for their phonetic value is typical of the adoption of foreign words into the Japanese language.

Waka, which appears in both forms of the hero's name mentioned above, means *youth* or *infant*, according to how it is written with the ideograph, and is a title often given to young warriors, resembling the English medieval *childe*. There is reason to believe that Yurikusa is an older form of the name than Yuriwaka, because of the truncation which has taken place and the fact that the text in which it occurs, in spite of its date, has many of the earmarks of a primitive version. The problem of the relative age of the different versions will be considered later.

The idea of the hero's being trained in the magic arts by supernatural beings is patently the result of the well-known traditions concerning the national hero Yoshitsune, who was trained in swordsmanship on Mount Kurama by the Tengu, or mythical birdmen. This, too, may be a purely local embellishment of the tale; it is one that has many parallels in European folklore.¹⁵ In harmony with the concept of Yuriwaka's divine powers, the narra-

¹⁴ Fujimura, *Nippon bungaku daijiten* 6: 235.

¹⁵ Thompson, *Motif-index*, No. 107, 279. "D 1811.2. Magical knowledge received from supernatural beings (Medieval romances)."

tive emphasizes the aid given him during the military campaign by the gods and bodhisattvas, until it was withdrawn because of the hero's proud boast of his personal prowess—a typically Greek motif.¹⁶ It follows inevitably that he should be abandoned on the island as punishment, after which his adventures follow closely along the lines of the Group A texts, except that the theme of a voluntary self-sacrifice is lacking. When he reaches his home his childhood nurse recognizes him, in spite of his emaciated condition, because one of his molar teeth is missing.¹⁷

When stripped of such irrelevant material as the treasure contest, there is nothing in these texts which is incompatible with the versions of Group A. Added details are the name Yurikusa; the hero's boasting of his own strength, which costs him the support of the gods; and the recognition of the hero by a member of his household because of a peculiar physical trait.

Up to now most of the texts which have been considered have been by anonymous writers. We now turn to a group of compositions of a definitely artistic type in which the fancy and ingenuity of known writers are brought into full play. Hence, we must expect considerable variation from what we have come to consider as the norm. In these literary texts an attempt is made to place the hero in recorded history by identifying him with Wadamaro, a member of the renowned Fujiwara family. The name Yuriwaka is then explained as a mere sobriquet. The court lady to whom he is betrothed is in one instance (Text E) a white falcon in a woman's form, and in another (Text F) the daughter of a Korean merchant adopted by a Japanese nobleman. The former variant is a natural extension of the faithful hawk theme and takes the place of the missing hawk-as-messenger motif. The latter innovation was perhaps suggested by the lively commerce which was carried on between the Japanese port of Osaka and the Korean port of Fusan during the middle of the Tokugawa period.¹⁸

In Texts F and G a new character is introduced in the person of the hero's stepmother, who joins the treacherous retainers in plotting against him. Another new figure introduced in this group of texts is the hero's herculean follower, whose superhuman feats are the equivalent of the divine aid given the hero in other versions. Though the exiles on the island have become minor characters, such as one of the traitors, the communication theme remains, but the messages are now conveyed by an arrow or a talking orang-utang. The faithful wife, instead of patiently awaiting the hero's return, in one instance follows him into exile and cares for him and their child on the island (Text E). The voluntary sacrifices made by inferiors for their masters range from Matsugae's walking through fire (Text E) to Tarō's draining of the

¹⁶ Cf. *Ibid.*, No. 106, 406. "C 454. Tabu: boasting that one has no need of gods' help (Greek)"

¹⁷ Cf. Thompson, "Motif-index," No. 108, 285. "H 57.1. Recognition by broken tooth (New Zealand)."

¹⁸ William Elliot Griffis, *Corea, the Hermit Nation* (7th ed., revised. London, Harper and Brothers, 1905) 149. "Kaempfer, who was at Nagasaki from . . . 1690 to . . . 1692, tells us that the Japanese imported from Fusan scarce medicinal plants, especially ginseng, walnuts, and fruits, the best pickled fish, and some few manufactures. . . ."

poisonous draft intended for Yuriwaka (Text G), but the principle of loyalty and self-abnegation remains the same.

There is no mention of the hero's skill in archery, but the identification motif is preserved in the recognition of Korean and Japanese half-sisters by two famous swords which they carry. The concluding punishments and rewards are similar to those in Groups A and B, with this important exception, that the chief conspirators are pardoned because of their family relationship to the hero and his loyal retainers. Again we find that nothing new needs to be added to the story, since all these innovations may be traced to artistic invention or a reflection of contemporary social conditions.

It remains to judge the authenticity of the unique elements in Texts D, J, and K. Text D attributes the hero's name to the fact that the earth shook at the time of his birth—an idea derived from the fact that *yuri* means *shaking* when written with a particular ideograph. The association of natural phenomena with the advent of great heroes is a common folk superstition.¹⁹ We are not surprised to find a parrot acting as a second messenger, for it is not a far cry from a letter-bearing hawk to a talking bird. An ingenious innovation is the plot to murder the heroine's unwelcome suitor by arranging an assignation with him, plying him with wine, and then murdering him, but this does not alter the basic theme of the faithful wife. Finally, the identification motif assumes a minor rôle; a demon in the disguise of a mortal is identified by a birthmark which he deliberately assumes in order to duplicate the supposed appearance of his opponent. None of these variations fundamentally alters the narrative, however.

Text J is unique only in that it makes the hero a descendant of Takemikazuki-no-mikoto, an ancient god of Japan. Since this is the only instance of the occurrence of such an idea, and is found in a text of unquestionably late date, we feel justified in ignoring it.

Text K is conspicuous for what it lacks, rather than for any additions or changes. It has neither the birth, marriage, faithful wife, nor messenger motif. Nevertheless it contains nearly all the essential elements of the basic narrative. A warrior named Yuriwaka is sent on a military campaign by the Emperor. He is abandoned on an island, but rescued by fishermen and conveyed to his home, where he is hired as a servant. When he is challenged by his treacherous retainers to take part in an archery contest, he declares his identity and wreaks vengeance upon them. The extreme simplicity of this form of the tale, as well as the omission of the faithful wife motif, can be explained by the fact that the text was written for second grade elementary school pupils.

It is now possible to formulate the prototype of the Yuriwaka tale, as follows:

I_x II_x III_a IV_x V_b VI_c VII_b VIII_a IX_x X_a
XI_x XII_b XIII_a XIV_t XV_a XVI_a

That is to say, a hero named Yuriwaka or Lily Youth, whose wife is a court

¹⁹ Cf. Thompson, Motif-index, No. 108, 189. "F 960.1. Extraordinary nature phenomena at birth of a culture hero (Irish, Jewish)."

lady, is sent by the Emperor on a military expedition in which he is successful because of divine aid. On his triumphant way home the hero is abandoned on an island by treacherous retainers. During his absence his faithful wife puts off the unwelcome advances of the treacherous suitors by pleading a religious vow. At length the hero is rescued through divine intervention and returns incognito to his home, where no one recognizes him until he reveals his identity at an archery contest in which he is allowed to take part. The story closes with the punishment of the traitors and the rewarding of the faithful. This form of the tale is probably very close to the pristine version, which is now lost, if indeed it was ever recorded. Because of its basic character it may properly be used as a basis of comparison with the Greek tradition of Ulysses.

But before taking this step, it seems necessary to ascertain the form of the Homeric legends in Europe, at the time the Japanese tradition appeared. This task is comparatively simple, since Homer was known to medieval Europeans chiefly through the works of Dictys of Crete and Dares the Phrygian, whose names are associated with Latin manuscripts dating from about the fourth and sixth centuries, respectively. These pseudo-historians composed an apocryphal account of the siege of Troy, which was supposedly based on the Greek of Homer. Griffin says of these probable forgeries that "Notwithstanding a total lack of intrinsic literary merit, Dares and Dictys enjoyed throughout the Middle Ages a widespread popularity . . . [They spread] from Italy to Sicily . . . France, Spain, England, Germany, Holland, and other countries of Europe."²⁰ These texts were considered more authentic history than the writings of Homer himself until Chapman's English translations of the Iliad and the Odyssey appeared at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The main emphasis in both works is upon the Trojan War rather than upon the wanderings of Ulysses, only a few pages of summary being devoted to the latter subject in Dictys, and none in Dares. Such meager material hardly constitutes a basis for comparison with the Japanese tradition. But there is one other medieval version of the story, which gives a more detailed account. This is the Library and Epitome of Apollodorus of Athens, which was written in Greek, but translated into Latin in 1555. Copies of the original Greek manuscript dating from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are now preserved at Oxford, Paris, Rome, Florence, Naples, Turin, and Jerusalem.²¹ It seems entirely plausible, therefore, that Apollodorus' version should have been familiar to the scholars of Europe, at least, during

²⁰ Nathaniel Edward Griffin, *Dares and Dictys: An Introduction to the Study of Medieval Versions of the Story of Troy* (Baltimore, J. H. Furst Co., 1907) 6.

The countries where the Romance languages were spoken probably derived their knowledge of the story from Latin translations such as the following: *Homeri Odyssea metaphraste Raphaele Volaterrano, quam diligentissime excusa*. 1523.

The earliest vernacular translation in a Teutonic language seems to have been that of Coornhert, which, however, covered only the first twelve books, as follows: *Deerste twaelf boecken Odysseae dot is de dolinghe von Ulysse, bechreue int Griecx door den Poet Homerum, vadere ende fonteyn alder Poeten, nu eerstmael wten Latyne in rym verduytscht door Dierick Coornhert. Tot Haerlem, by Ian van Zuren*, 1561.

²¹ Sir James G. Frazer, *Apollodorus, the Library* (London, Heinemann, 1921) xxxiv.

TABLE E

COMPARISON OF THE BASIC YURIWAKA TRADITION WITH THE TALE OF ULYSSES AS KNOWN IN RENAISSANCE EUROPE

	Yuriwaka Tradition	Ulysses Tradition
III _a	Yuriwaka or Yurikusawaka as the hero's name. The various attempts to explain this name, such as by association of the hero with lilies, earthquakes, or the strength of a hundred men, seem to indicate that this is not a native name.	Ulysses, or more properly Ulyxēs, was the Roman name for the Greek hero Odysseus. The etymology of the latter name is uncertain, though it is said to signify "the angry" or "the hater." Croiset propounds the theory that it may have been a foreign name which the Greeks tried to naturalize. ²²
V _a	The hero's marriage with a lady of rank.	Ulysses is wedded to Penelope, daughter of Icarus (Apollodorus, Library 3: 10: 8).
VI.	The hero is appointed by the Emperor of Japan at the advice of an oracle to lead an expedition against barbarian invaders.	Ulysses joins an expedition to Troy to rescue and bring back Helen, stolen wife of Menelaus, at the urgent insistence of Agamemnon, commander-in-chief of the Greek forces. (Apollodorus, Epitome 3: 6).
VIII _a	The hero's desertion on an island. On his way home from the campaign Yuriwaka lands on an island to rest, and exhausted by his labors, sleeps for three days and three nights, during which time his followers sail away and desert him.	Shipwrecked Ulysses is tossed on the shores of the island of Ogygia (Apollodorus, Epitome 7: 23). " . . . Neoptolemus, thinking to get possession of Cephallenia, if once Ulysses were put out of the way, condemned him to exile." (ibid. 7: 40). ²³
X _a	The Beppus' courtship of Lady Yuriwaka. The treacherous brothers press their suit upon the hero's consort, who puts them off by saying she must fulfil a vow to Usa Shrine before she can remarry. When the period of the vow ends and the hero has not yet returned, she prepares for death, but is saved by an attendant who takes her place.	"And Penelope was compelled to promise that she would wed when the shroud of Laertes was finished and she wove it for three years, weaving it by day and undoing by night. In this way the suitors were deceived by Penelope till she was detected" (ibid. 7: 31).
XII	The hero's rescue and return in disguise to his home. The hero has been so changed by his sojourn on the island that no one recognizes him. He becomes a horse-trainer or assistant gatekeeper at the mansion of the traitors and is nicknamed "Mossback."	"Alcinous king of Phaeacia . . . entertained him and after bestowing gifts on him sent him away from the island with a convoy to his native land" (Apollodorus, Epitome 7: 25). Ulysses deliberately disguised himself as a beggar when he returned to his home (ibid. 7: 32).
XIII	Yuriwaka's part in the archery exhibition. On New Year's Day when an archery exhibition is held in honor of the Beppu brothers, he takes part and proves that he alone is able to bend the Minister's iron bow.	The terms of the archery contest are that he who wins shall marry Penelope. Ulysses joins in the contest and wins (idem).

²² Maurice Croiset, *Observations sur les legende primitive d'Ulyses* (Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1910) 30.

²³ Dr. Mischa Titiev of the University of Michigan has called attention to the fact that the tragedy *Philoctetes* by Sophocles contains a striking parallel to the Japanese version at this point. Instead of Ulysses, however, Philoctetes, heir and custodian of the divine bow and arrows of Herakles, was abandoned on a desert island because of an incurable wound inflicted on him by a serpent. Since Sophocles no doubt drew upon the common fund of folklore known as the Homeric legend for his play, it seems likely that this motif is very ancient.

TABLE E—Continued

	Yuriwaka Tradition	Ulysses Tradition
XIV	Yuriwaka's revelation of his identity. When he has the bow in his hand he announces his name to the assembled clan.	Ulysses made himself known at once to his son and to two faithful followers (idem).
XV	Yuriwaka's vengeance. He punishes the Beppu by piercing them with an arrow, decapitating them, or torturing them to death and exposing their bodies.	Ulysses slays all the suitors (ibid. 7: 33).
XVI	Yuriwaka's rewards to the faithful. He gives land, titles, treasures, or posthumous enshrinement to those who have been faithful.	Ulysses spares the lives of the two men who had remained faithful during his absence (idem).

the last half of the sixteenth century, even though the *Odyssey* as we know it today was completely unknown.

An examination of Table E shows that the points of similarity between the three versions of the Greek story discussed above and the Yuriwaka story are too numerous and too close to be fortuitous. Ulyxēs, the Latin form of the hero's name which was used during the middle ages, when transliterated into Japanese would inevitably undergo certain phonetic changes in accordance with the character of the language, and be associated with a different meaning from the original one. Hence we find that the oldest form of the corresponding Japanese name was probably Yurikusa; this was later shortened to Yuri, and again lengthened by the addition of the title *waka* or *youth*. There is no similarity of meaning between the Japanese and the Greek names, but this is not significant, since the Greek name is not descriptive of the hero's character. The significant comparison lies in the *sound* of the Japanese and Latin names, which has remained fairly constant.

The Minister Yuriwaka's marriage with the daughter of a courtier parallels that of Ulysses and Penelope. His expedition abroad at the command of the Emperor resembles that of Ulysses' at the behest of Agamemnon. His desertion by his followers suggests Neoptolemus' condemnation of Ulysses to exile, and the choice of an island as the place of exile, Ulysses' sojourn on Ogygia. Lady Yuriwaka's religious vow to recite a certain number of sacred texts before she remarries has its counterpart in Penelope's weaving of a shroud. The Japanese hero is restored to his home by a supernatural agency; the Greek hero, by a human one. Both Yuriwaka and Ulysses return in humble mien and are not immediately recognized. Yuriwaka displays his skill with bow and arrows at an archery exhibition, while Ulysses takes part in an archery contest of suitors for his own wife's hand. Both Yuriwaka and Ulysses make themselves known at the crucial moment and proceed to administer suitable punishment and rewards to their followers.

The similarity of many of the elements in the Greek and Japanese tales indicates that the two may be related forms. We turn, therefore, at this point to an examination of the historical and geographical background of the Yuriwaka tradition in Japan.

AGE AND PLACE OF ORIGIN OF THE YURIWAKA TRADITION

Although the oldest written version of the Yuriwaka tradition (Text A) dates from 1662 (see Table A), there is evidence that an oral tradition existed prior to that time. For instance, in 1617, the biographer of Hideyoshi, the famous military genius of the late sixteenth century, wrote: "After his breakfast, how Hideyoshi slept! It was a deeper sleep than that of battle-worn Minister Yuriwaka."²⁴ Also, according to Yamaguchi, the Iki Island versions are based on an oral tradition preserved by the families of the *ichiho*, or women soothsayers, for the past six generations.²⁵ Furthermore, Text H is a collation of several manuscripts taken from dictation on the island of Hirado by the grandfathers of the present owners.²⁶ This indicates that the ultimate source of the oral tradition is not Iki, but Hirado, which was once the site of a European trading post (see fn. 38). As to the age of the Iki tradition, allowing thirty years to a generation, and reckoning from 1934, the date of Yamaguchi's recording of the soothsayers' account, we conclude that the earliest date which can be assigned to it is about the middle of the eighteenth century.

The evidence regarding the place of origin is of two kinds—geographic and internal. Although the largest number of texts are found in Kyōto and Tōkyō, the text which is most primitive, judging by the simplicity of its literary style, comes from the island of Iki. However, as we have noted above, this version did not originate in Iki, but in Hirado in the northern part of Kyūshū.

The internal evidence of the texts also points to Kyūshū as the point of origin for the original tale. For instance, Genkai Island off the northern coast of Kyūshū (see Fig. A, frontispiece) is named in eight texts (Texts A, B, B', C, E, F, G, and J) as the island where the hero was abandoned by his treacherous retainers. Yuriwaka's mansion is located in Bungo or Dazai in nine versions (A, B, B', C, E, G, and H). Hase Temple, in central Japan, is mentioned in only four texts (A, B, B', and C), whereas the Hachiman Shrine in Bungo figures in six (B, B', C, E, G, and H). Iki Island is the scene of several incidents in Texts A, B, B', C, and F, but Kyōto figures only incidentally in Texts A, C, G, and H.

The names of the characters in the story are of no less significance than the place-names, because of their local associations. For example, the name Beppu, which is the name of the treacherous brothers in all of the texts except K, is now attached to a famous hotspring resort on the east coast of Kyūshū. Funai, the family name of the hero's *loyal* retainers in Text E,

²⁴ Dōki Kose, *Taikō-ki* [Life of Hideyoshi] (1617), Preface, Chapter 5, First month, 2nd day, 1587 (per Sakanishi).

²⁵ Asatarō Yamaguchi, *Yuriwaka sekkyō* (Tōkyō, Issaisha 1934) 191. "As to how far back the oral tradition goes among the female soothsayers of Iki, the present representative of the Nagashima family is a third generation descendant of the original Nagashima who received the tradition from the Hokanoki family of the same village. Since the Hokanoki family has known the tradition for three generations, the total of its known history is six generations. At present it is no longer current in the Hokanoki family, but has left traces in the traditions of a certain Oishi family in the same village."

²⁶ *Ibid.* 184.

though now written with different ideographs is found in a suburb of Ōita city today. Thus, names of characters as well as placenames are linked with the island of Kyūshū.

Accepting the hypothesis that the Yuriwaka tradition originated in northern Kyūshū at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the next point to investigate is the contacts existent, at that time and in that area, between Japan and foreign countries. There are ample historical data which indicate that cultural exchanges actually did take place between Europeans and Japanese, from the middle of the sixteenth century until the end of the seventeenth century. The first Europeans to visit Japan during this period were the Portuguese, who landed on Tanegashima in 1542. The natives are said to have been particularly interested in the Namban or Southern Barbarians' firearms, which they then saw for the first time.²⁷ Between this year and 1550 Portuguese merchants visited Kyōto to open negotiations for a factory at Sakai, and numerous trading vessels from Portugal entered the harbor of Hirado.²⁸ The use of the Portuguese language for commercial purposes became fairly common and continued until the middle of the seventeenth century.²⁹ As a result a large number of Portuguese words were adopted into the language in their Japanized form.³⁰ If the Portuguese language was learned so readily, and Portuguese words borrowed so freely, it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that Portuguese literature might also have become known to the Japanese. This is all the more likely in view of the fact that the Portuguese poet Camoens, stationed in Macao as a government official in the middle of the sixteenth century, composed a classic epic based on Vasco Da Gama's search for a passage to India, in which he mentioned the popular tradition that Ulysses had landed in Iberia and founded the city of Lisboa.³¹ Since

²⁷ James Murdoch and I. Yamagata, *History of Japan* (Kobe, Kelly and Walsh, 1926) 33. "The first among Europeans to discover these islands were the Portuguese . . . though it was only in 1542 that an acquaintance with the islands of Japan themselves was obtained . . . they landed on one of those islands, called Tanegashima, in the sea of Satsuma. The Portuguese taught the inhabitants of the island how to make arquebuses . . . an art which quickly spread through the whole of Japan."

²⁸ Ibid. 38.

²⁹ Ibid. 57. "Portuguese was at that time the commercial *lingua franca* of the Far East and we know from contemporary European sources . . . that many Japanese spoke and wrote it with the greatest fluency. The acquisition of Portuguese was facilitated by the intermarriage and social intercourse which took place freely between Lusitanians and Japanese prior to 1614. . . . Add to this almost universal knowledge of Portuguese the fact that there was nothing to prevent Dutchmen learning Japanese prior to about 1636, and it becomes clear why there were few or no Japanese who could speak Dutch . . . in 1641. Even after the installation of the Hollanders at Deshima, Portuguese continued to be their principal medium of communication with the Japanese for a considerable number of years."

³⁰ Ernest Satow, *The Jesuit mission press in Japan* (2nd edition. London, Paul, French, Trübner Co., 1928) 11. "The romanized way of writing Japanese evidently facilitated the introduction and adoption of foreign words spelt either as in Latin or Portuguese, but as we learn from Rodriguez, to be pronounced in Japanese fashion. . . ."

³¹ Richard Francis Burton, tr., *Os Lusíadas* [*The Lusiads*] (London: Bernard Quartich, 1880), I, 290.

"Ulysses 'tis who builds that sacred fane
To her, [Pallas] whose favour tongue fecund supplies;

Renaissance Europeans were generally familiar with the story of Ulysses through the writings of Dares and Dictys, and since the Portuguese would have had a special patriotic interest in the theme because of their supposed descent from Ulysses, it would not be surprising for the Portuguese to have recounted the Ulysses story orally to Japanese audiences.³² It is certain that the Portuguese exerted a powerful influence upon the spiritual culture of Japan; the evidence of this influence remained long after the withdrawal of the Portuguese in 1639 because of a change in the attitude of the shogunate toward Christianity.³³

If we would seek something less ephemeral than an oral transfer, however, we must examine the list of Western books published by the Jesuit Mission Press at Amakusa during this period. In 1549 a group of Spanish Catholic missionaries headed by St. Francis Xavier set up a mission in Kagoshima.³⁴ These missionaries, who belonged to an order which emphasized scholarship, were probably conversant with the classical literature which the Renaissance had recently brought to the attention of Europe. Their publications prove their knowledge of Latin and Greek though naturally the majority of the books deal with religious rather than secular subjects. A classical grammar containing selections from Homer, Plato, Aristotle, Euripides, Herodotus, Vergil and Cicero was put out by the Nagasaki Jesuit Mission Press in 1610.³⁵ As Latin was taught in all the Jesuit schools, dictionaries were prepared for the use of Japanese converts.³⁶ In time Latin became sufficiently well-known to be used as the official means of communication be-

If there be fired tall Troy on Asian plane
Here made he mighty Lesbon's walls arise."

³² Izuru Shimmura, *Zoku namban kō-ki* [Sequel to Account of the spread of the Southern Barbarians] (Tōkyō, 1925) 288. "The age being what it was, might not some priestly pedagogue have told children the Greek tale translated into Latin . . . ? It is significant that it is the Odyssey and not the Iliad by the same author which appealed to them. The idea that . . . the youth of Kyūshū listened to the tradition handed down by the Southern Barbarians, who might themselves have been of the seed of Ulysses, no matter if it be the fancy of a single person and without historical foundation, is none the less delightful. Rather than that the [Jesuit] padres . . . passed on Homer and Vergil as nursery tales, I prefer to think that [the Japanese] heard the tale of Ulysses from the lips of Southern Barbarian merchants or captains of the black ships."

³³ C. R. Boxer, *Jan compagne in Japan* (The Hague, M. Nijhoff, 1936) 5. " . . . the cultural influence exercised by the Portuguese in Japan was far greater than might be imagined from its somewhat tenuous and intermittent nature. In fact, it is not too much to say that until the final resolve of the Shōgun . . . to exterminate Roman Catholicism on political grounds in 1639, Western civilization was making itself felt in an increasing degree amongst all the sections of Japanese society and *through all aspects of Japanese culture.*" (Italics mine.)

³⁴ Murdock and Yamagata, *History of Japan* 46 " . . . for the forty-four years following the arrival of Xavier at Kagoshima in 1549 . . . the Jesuit monopoly of religious propagandism in Dai Nippon had been, if possible, still more unquestioned."

³⁵ Satow, *The Jesuit Mission Press in Japan* 53. "To the foregoing should be added . . . 'Emanuel Barreto, . . . Collegit et edidit Latine Flosculos de virtutibus & vitiis ex veteris, ac novi testamenti & Sanctorum Doctorum & ordine alphabetico Nangasachi typis Collegii Japonici Societatis Jesu, 1610, in 4.'"

³⁶ *Ibid.* 27. "'Dictionarium Latino Lusitanicum, ac Japonicum ex Ambroisecale' now in Bodleian Library."

tween the Japanese and all the nationalities of Europeans.³⁷ Hence it is possible that the main idea of the Ulysses story was conveyed to Japanese school boys through the medium of excerpts from the classics in their Latin grammars.

As we have already noted, both the Portuguese and the Spanish Jesuits were in contact mainly with the southern part of Japan. But what of the main island, and the other European nations such as the English and Dutch, who traded with Japan? Although English trading posts were opened at Hirado, Kyōto, Sakai (near Ōsaka) and Edo (now Tōkyō) in 1613,³⁸ they were manned by only four to eight English merchants.³⁹ None of these men appear to have had any particular academic or cultural background, with the possible exception of Arthur Hatch, an Oxford graduate and preacher.⁴⁰ That hospitality was frequently exchanged by the merchants and their customers is amply attested by Richard Cooke's diary, though the nature of the entertainment seems to have been largely of the wine-and-song variety.⁴¹ English ships touched on Japanese shores only during a brief period of ten years, while the Portuguese continued to trade with Japan until 1639. Furthermore, the chief contribution of the English to Japanese life seems to have been of a material nature.⁴² The English were as well-versed as the Portuguese in the use of firearms, and cast a number of pieces of ordnance at Hirado, among which may have been the swivel cannons used by Hideyoshi

³⁷ Boxer, *Jan compagnie in Japan* 5. "... among the items ordered by the chief Inquisitor Inouye ... we find listed '*t licht der Zee vaert int latyn*—incidentally proving that Latin was more generally understood than Dutch in official circles."

³⁸ Ludwig Riess, *History of the English factory at Hirado* (Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, o.s., 26; 1898) 38-39. "Regarding the distribution of his merchants Cocks followed Saris' advice very closely. He founded two branch factories, one at Osaka, the other at Edo. ... A third branch was only of short duration. There remained at the end of 1614 only the two branches of Osaka and Edo. ..."

³⁹ *Ibid.* 35. "How large were the profits to be ere the expense of ... eight Englishmen (including Adams) could be recovered?"

Ibid. 64. "For about four months after the departure of the 'Hozeander' ... there were ... four merchants in the English house at Hirado. ..."

⁴⁰ Cyril Wild, ed., *Purchas his pilgrimes in Japan* (Kobe, J. L. Thompson and Co., 1939) 241.

⁴¹ Wild, *Purchas his pilgrimes in Japan* 190. "The tenth, two of the Governours sonnes of Langasaque ... came to see our English house, they are Christians. I entertayned them in the best sort I could and shewed them our commodities and after made them collation and gave them musicke. ..."

Ibid. 199. "... I ordained two bottles of Spanish wine, two roasted Hennes, a roasted Pigge, a small quantitie Ruske and three boxes banquetting stufte to send to their Feast tomorrow."

⁴² For example, M. Paske-Smith, *Western barbarians in Japan and Formosa in Tokugawa days, 1603-1868* (Kobe, J. L. Thompson and Co., 1930) 19-20, states that numerous novelties such as the following were presented as gifts to the Shōgun Ieyasu:

"One gilt bason and yewer, six and one-half Ounznes

.....

.....

1 perspective glass cast in silver gilt . . . 6 Tael

This may have been the same type of glass as the "distance spectacles" which the Beppu brothers possessed.

in his campaign against Korea.⁴³ English merchants found that pictures were among the best-selling items in their stock, particularly those which represented wars and heroic deeds,⁴⁴ but it seems unlikely that the story of the Odyssey could have been conveyed by such a means. When the English retired from Hirado in 1623,⁴⁵ leaving their business affairs in the hands of the Dutch, their influence vanished with them.

The fact that the Dutch were Protestants won them the lucrative privilege of remaining in Japan. Their only foothold, however, was on the island of Deshima in Nagasaki harbor, which was more like a concentration camp than a foreign concession, since those entering or leaving were kept under strict surveillance.⁴⁶ Is it any wonder that men of distinction were rare among the early traders during the period from 1661-1700?⁴⁷ Although the Dutch continued to maintain trade relations with Japan right up to the Meiji period, their influence was much less than that of the Portuguese.⁴⁸

To summarize: of the Western nations which established contacts with Japan after the opening of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese were the earliest to arrive, the most ubiquitous, the most likely to be imbued with an interest in the story of Ulysses because of their national traditions, and the best able to communicate it because of the knowledge of Portuguese among the Japanese. While the Jesuits exerted a powerful influence in the religious realm and were men of vast learning, they were not likely to have emphasized "heathen" Greek or Latin texts in their teaching.⁴⁹ The fact that their political intrigues brought them into such ill repute would also tend to militate against any ideas of theirs being perpetuated. The English merchants remained in direct touch with Japan for only ten years, were few in number, and scarcely of a type to have much knowledge of or interest in classic literature. On the other hand, in spite of the fact that the Dutch remained two hundred years, their movements were so restricted that their influence could not have been extensive.

⁴³ A. L. Sadler, Naval campaign in the Korean war of Hideyoshi (Transactions of Asiatic Society of Japan, n.s., 9, 1937) 197.

⁴⁴ Paske-Smith, Western Barbarians in Japan and Formosa in Tokugawa days, 1603-1868 24. Saris' diary says the trade goods required were "... pictures, some lascivious, others of stories of wars by sea and land."

⁴⁵ Murdoch and Yamagata, History of Japan 1: 590. "After a troubled and troublous existence of ten years it [the factory at Hirado] was finally dissolved ... in the very year (1623) when the Dutch President was writing that 'in one voyage to Japan above 76 per cent may be gained; sufficient to buy up all the returns needful for Europe.'"

⁴⁶ Ibid. I: 677.

⁴⁷ Boxer, Jan compagnie in Japan 126. "It was unfortunate for the Company that none of the *Oppehoofden* then in Japan (1661-1700) were men of sufficient mental calibre to grasp the fleeting opportunity [to improve their position]."

⁴⁸ Boxer, Jan compagnie in Japan 124. "Nevertheless thanks mainly to the distrustful and semiohostile attitude of the Bakufu towards most forms of European civilization, the influence of the Hollanders on local dress, manners, and customs at Nagasaki during their two century residence at Deshima was distinctly less than that of the far briefer but more intense period of Portuguese intercourse from 1570-1639."

⁴⁹ Satow, The Jesuit mission press in Japan 12. The preface to Esop's Fables, translated from Latin into the Japanese tongue and published by the Jesuit Mission Press [says], "The authors thereof being heathens, the subjects may appear not very recommendable. ...!"

THE DIFFUSION OF THE ULYSSES MYTH TO JAPAN
AND ITS DEVELOPMENT THERE

It is now time to consider, in the light of the evidence presented up to this point, whether the Yuriwaka tradition was of independent origin or whether it is a version of the Greek story of Ulysses. The first criterion of diffusion—the consistent recurrence in two or more cultures of the same elements in the same combination—is met by the persistence of the basic narrative elements in the Yuriwaka tradition in all of its versions and their resemblance to those of the Greek legend, as demonstrated above. In particular, the tenacity of such extrinsic details as the name of the hero and his skill in archery greatly increases the likelihood of diffusion. As regards the second criterion—the historical or geographic continuity of the cultures sharing the trait under consideration—it has been demonstrated that from the middle of the sixteenth until the beginning of the nineteenth century, there were continuous and frequent contacts between the Japanese and the Dutch, English, Portuguese and Spaniards, all of whom were familiar with the Greek story through the revival of learning in Europe. The tradition appeared in Japan about the beginning of the seventeenth century, following the establishment of commerce between the Japanese and Portuguese, a people who were particularly interested in the tale for patriotic reasons. The difference in language was not such a barrier to communication as might be supposed, since Portuguese came to be widely used by the Japanese for commercial purposes. Contacts between the two cultures were first established in the southern part of Japan and continued there unbroken for almost a century. The very places associated with Portuguese trading-posts also furnish the locale of the Japanese tradition—for instance, Hirado, Bungo, and Funai.

From the psychological standpoint the story of Ulysses was likely to appeal profoundly to the Japanese people. Their maritime culture has made them peculiarly sensitive to stimuli connected with sea-faring adventure. As an island people, they would know all too well the loneliness and horror of being deserted on an uninhabited islet without any means of communication with mankind. A natural love for heroes is, in the Japanese, magnified to the point of worship. Particular admiration is directed toward those who are outstanding in such warlike skills as archery, swordsmanship, and military strategy. The Japanese ideal of womanhood is meekness, docility, and conjugal fidelity, such as that of Penelope. When such a people first heard the tale of Ulysses, one can imagine the interest which it aroused. As time went on the story took on more and more local color, but it could always be recognized by its central theme of a noble hero who left his home to go on a campaign against a national enemy; who was deserted by his companions on a lonely island; who returned to purge his household of the interlopers who had taken it over during his absence. The Japanese, a warlike, maritime people, responded to this story of adventures at sea, and adopted it in their literature.

Not the least interesting feature of the development of the Ulysses motif after it appears in Japanese literature is its metamorphosis under the influence of the new environment into a narrative with distinctively Japanese religious, historical, and literary elements. Although space does not permit

a full discussion of this aspect of the problem, the following brief summary may serve to suggest the trend of development.

In the first place, all the supernatural agents are native Shinto gods or Buddhistic deities, such as the Sun-goddess and the Storm-god, or the Goddess of Mercy and the Guardian Kings. The Buddhistic doctrines of causation and of reincarnation profoundly color the philosophy of almost every version, while in a few the Confucian influence is also marked. The tradition as it is found on the island of Iki has even become associated with a Shinto ceremony performed by hereditary priestesses as a means of exorcising evil spirits and preserving domestic tranquillity.

In the realm of history and social life we find a similar reflection of the Japanese environment. The hero, for instance, comes to be considered a semi-historical figure, a supposed scion of the great Fujiwara clan which at one time exerted a powerful political influence in Japan. The details of the hero's military campaign bear a striking resemblance to traditional accounts of Hideyoshi's attack upon Korea, and to the Mongolians' attempted invasion of Japan under Kublai Khan.

The social order reflected in the tradition is that of the Tokugawa period; namely, a strongly centralized hereditary feudalism under a military dictator. An exaggerated sense of loyalty to the overlord leads vassals to sacrifice their property, family, and even life for his benefit. Filial piety is considered secondary to feudal loyalty, though the family system is nevertheless powerful. There are premonitory signs of coming change in the growing rebellion of the bourgeois class as well as the economic and moral decadence of the warriors.

Finally, the literary genres of the various versions reflect the popular taste of the Japanese for narrative chants accompanied by pantomime or rhythmic tapping; for melodramatic puppet plays; and for highly sensational novels. The text is filled with homely proverbs and studded with quotations from famous Japanese or Chinese classics, such as the *Kojiki* and *Manyōshū*, or the Confucian *Analects*. The verse form used is for the most part the thirty-one syllable epigram known as the *tanka*, which may be linked by repetition into a series. Descriptive prose passages are enlivened by an ejaculatory style which flashes a succession of pictures before the reader's mind. Most characteristic of all, because of the nature of the Japanese language, is the frequent use of plays on words.

It is therefore evident that even though the tale plot resulted from outside contacts, its subsequent development was along strictly Japanese lines.

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.